

**DEVELOPMENT OF THE GLOBAL
WARMING AGENDA IN JAPAN**

By

Jacob Park

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and
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Abstract

Japan's post-World War II economic development has had an important impact on the global environment. As one of the world's largest bilateral foreign aid donors, Japan exerts considerable influence on both the environments and the economies of developing countries. As a result, Japan's environmental policies have been subjected to extensive international scrutiny in the last few years.

This paper traces the development of the global warming agenda in Japan, as a way to explain its environmental policy making process. Using the climate change issue as a case study, the paper explores the institutional factors that propelled this environmental phenomenon onto Japan's policy agenda.

Three important factors contributed to the development of the global warming agenda in Japan. First, the climate change issue had an important impact on Japanese public consciousness. Second, five interest groups played an important role in pushing the climate change issue onto Japan's policy agenda. Third, due to the synergistic pressure caused by the end of the Cold War, the increasing use of environmental *gaiatsu*, and the increasing importance of *kokusaika*, Japan needed a credible international presence and the climate change issue provided the idea vehicle of fashioning such a policy initiative.

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Glossary

CO 2	Carbon Dioxide
EA	Environment Agency
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
WMO	World Meteorological Organization

Introduction

Japan post-World War II economic development has had an important impact on the global environment. As the world's largest timber importer, Japan has a large impact on the problem of deforestation. As one of the world's largest bilateral foreign aid donors, Japan exerts considerable influence on both the environment and economy of developing countries. As a nation with the second largest Gross Domestic Product, Japan has a large impact on the global economy.

As a result, Japan's environmental policies have been subjected to extensive international scrutiny in the last few years. However, unlike other industrialized countries who also promote environmentally-questionable policies, Japan seems to be labeled frequently as a political enigma. Why does a country with such a good record on energy efficient technologies have such poor environmental policies on tropical timber and overseas development assistance issues ? Similarly inconsistent policy approaches in other countries are rarely explored. This may be the reason why the title of one of the most best-selling books on Japan in the last five years turned out to be *The Enigma of Japanese Power*.¹

This paper traces the development of the global warming agenda in Japan as way

¹ Karel van Wolfren. *The Enigma of Japanese Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989). An excerpt of the book also appeared in *Fortune*, May 8 1989, pp. 150-153.

to explain its environmental policy making process. Using the climate change issue ² as case study, the paper explores the institutional factors that propelled this environmental phenomenon onto Japan's national policy agenda. Compared to global environmental problems like desertification and endangered species, why did the climate change policy receive so much more attention in Japan ? Why were Japanese policy makers so captivated by the climate change issue in the late 1980's ?

These questions are important because little work is being done to bridge the rapid pace of international events and domestic environmental policies, especially in the case of Japan. Although Japan is one of the most studied countries in the world, not much is known about the institutional factors within which decision-making occurs, what political theorist Robert Putnam refers to as the two-level game of chess where players must simultaneously develop strategies for play at the domestic and the international levels. ³

The discussion of Japan's climate change policy is organized into four chapters. The first chapter discusses the history of environmental policy making in Japan. The second chapter explores changes in the domestic and international politics. The third chapter analyzes the rising importance of global environmental issues, including the climate change issue, and its impact on Japan. The fourth chapter explores the struggle to shape Japan's climate change policy including the roles of five interest groups.

One note of caution has to be made. This paper should not be seen as a

² The terms climate change, global warming, and the greenhouse effect will be used interchangeably in the paper.

³ Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol.42, No.3, 1988.

comprehensive scientific analysis of the climate change issue. Except for one small section in chapter three that discusses the policy implications of the climate change issue, the paper does not analyze the relevant scientific issues. It might be appropriate if such a discussion came from someone who has a background in atmospheric physics and chemical engineering.

It has become part of conventional folklore that Japanese people have a special relationship to nature. Both Japanese and non-Japanese point out such venerable cultural archetypes as bonsai, flower arrangement, and cherry blossom viewing to support their argument. Consider the recent publicity surrounding the *yagamo* (arrow duck) incident. Two months ago, a female pintail duck was found paddling on a river near Tokyo with an arrow shaft protruding from its back. For weeks, television news programs showed live footage of people trying to rescue the suffering duck. Newspapers published special editions with enormous headlines about the duck. Radio call-in shows were deluged with demands that the government save the duck. Even Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa ⁴ added to the circus-like atmosphere one can only describe as a scene from a Federico Fellini film. Miyazawa told one newspaper reporter that "It (*yagamo*) causes me great sorrow. Can anyone save the duck?" A *Boston Globe* correspondent wrote that "young women wept openly in the streets and even sober-suited salarymen had to gulp hard to avoid breaking the Japanese male taboo against open display of strong emotions."

If a visitor from a different planet witnessed such commotion about one duck, one might conclude that Japanese have a special kinship with nature and animals. Unfortunately, the *yagamo* incident probably reflects the overzealous nature tendencies of the media more than deep-seated environmental spirit among the Japanese. As Edwin

⁴ The family name will appear second for Japanese names in the paper.

Reischauer, a former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, pointed out in his book *The Japanese*, "Ironically, the Japanese, for all their love for nature, have done as much as any people to defile it." (Reischauer 1977) In this first chapter, two themes in the relationship between environmental problems and Japanese policy making processes will be explored. First, the history of environmental problems and pollution legislation in Japan and second, the role of interest groups in the policy making process.

History of Environmental Problems and Pollution Legislation

Environmental problems have long been associated with industrial and economic development in Japan. One of the oldest industrial pollution cases also happens to be one of the most infamous. While digging copper ore out of a mountainside in central Japan in the late 19th century, the Ashio Copper Mining Company accidentally poisoned the drinking water and cropland of hundreds of farmers. Eventually, the farmers organized mass protest marches and forced the national government to recognize their grievances.⁵ However, Japan's rapid post-World War II industrialization caused environmental damage many times the scale of the Ashio Copper Mining case. Beginning in 1960, Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's administration devoted much of the country's energy toward industrial and economic development.⁶ Led by growth-oriented government ministries like the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Finance, Japan had become the second largest economy in the world by 1968 and the world's

⁵ Unfortunately, litigation and negotiations continued for decades and substantial financial compensation to the farmers living near the mine was not paid until 1974.

⁶ Akio Suzuki. "Japan's Struggle with Pollution", *Pacific Friend*, Volume 20, No. 2, May 1992, pp.7.

largest foreign aid donor by 1989. Despite the recent decline in the country's economy⁷, Japan's successes in such industrial sectors as automobiles and steel have been elevated to legendary status among economists and political scientists.

Unfortunately, the negative externalities of Japan's industrial development soon bubbled to the surface and by the mid-1960's, the health effects of industrial pollution had become visible to the Japanese public. Schoolchildren started to complain about sore throats and eye irritation whenever they played outside. Large scale petrochemical plants near Yokkaichi City produced many asthma sufferers. Discharge of industrial waste products like cadmium produced at least 70 deaths and hundreds of non-fatal victims of the *itai-itai* (it hurts-it hurts) disease. The Minamata disease, the famous mercury poisoning case, caused three hundred deaths and more than one thousand people to suffer from neurological damage. First identified in 1956, the Minamata disease affected people around the city of Minamata who consumed fish and shellfish that were tainted with mercury industrial effluent from a local factory. Frank Upham, Professor of Law at Boston College once observed that, "Japan has suffered perhaps more than any other nation from the consequences of environmental degradation."⁸

Sensing that the environmental situation has reached crisis proportions, the Japanese public began to pressure the government to take some immediate steps to reduce the

⁷ A March 10, 1993 article in the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "... (Bank of Japan's) quarterly survey, known as the tankan, found that Japan's major manufacturers are the most pessimistic about near-term business conditions they have been since 1976, when the national grappled with an unexpected global oil embargo."

⁸ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*. (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 1983), Volume 6, pp. 224.

pollution problems. Between 1970 and 1973, the number of environmental grass-roots pressure groups increased tenfold. (Vogel 1990) By 1973, more than 10,000 local disputes about pollution had sprung up throughout Japan.⁹ As the result of this change in the political climate, Japanese environmental policy was radically altered. In 1967, the Japanese government passed the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control, the country's first comprehensive environmental legislation. In 1970, the Japanese government passed 14 different environmental regulations, creating new laws as well as revamping the 1967 environmental legislation. In 1971, the Environment Agency (EA) was created to coordinate the environmental policies of the various government ministries and agencies. By 1975, Japanese industry was spending 4.6% of its total investment on pollution control - more than any other country in the world. The comparable figures are 3.4% for the U.S. and 1.7% for Great Britain. This amounted to 1% of Japan's Gross National Product, as compared to .44% for the U.S. and .29% for Great Britain. (Vogel 1990) David Vogel, who frequently writes on global environmental issues, once observed, "In no nation did the politics of environmental protection change as rapidly as in Japan." Here is a short description of the major environmental laws: ¹⁰

Water Pollution Control Law

Enacted in 1970, this law monitors the quality of the drinking water as well as the

⁹ Ellis Krauss and Bradford Simock, "Citizens Movements: The Growth and Impact of Environment Protest in Japan", in Kurt Steiner, Ellis Krauss, and Scott Flanagan (eds). *Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 187.

¹⁰ Turn to table 1 in the appendix for more details on Japanese environmental regulations.

level of industrial discharges. Significant amounts of industrial effluent were dumped untreated into rivers and streams. Although most of the visible water pollution problems have been alleviated by environmental regulations, the percentage of Japanese residents who are not connected to a proper sewer system approaches the conditions of some developing countries. Less than 40% of Japanese households are currently connected to a sewer system, compared to 97% for the U.S. and 72% for England. (Barrett and Riki 1991)

Waste Control and Management Law

Enacted in 1970, the Waste Disposal and Public Cleaning Law governs waste from household, commercial, and industrial sources. Radioactive waste is regulated by a different law. The disposal of household and industrial waste has become a pressing problem due to the dramatic increase in volume. Between 1966 and 1985, the volume of wastes has more than doubled to 38 million tons a year and the cost of waste disposal has increased more than 100 times during the same period. (Barrett and Riki 1991) Although Japan is one of the world's leaders in recycling, there is a severe shortage of landfills. As a result, Japan's Health and Welfare Ministry had to increase its recycling budget more than 16 times in 1991. One important factor that contributes to Japan's waste problem is its cultural aversion to secondhand products and passion for the latest gadgets. According to the Tokyo city government, the Tokyo Bay landfill in 1990 had more than 128,029 television sets, 99,006 refrigerators, 88,841 washing machines, 20,352 microwave ovens, 124 pianos, and 78 cars. (McGill 1992) Anyone who thinks this is an overrated problem should try to sell an used car in Japan.

Air Pollution Control Law

Enacted in 1968, the law sets emission standards for certain pollutants like carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, and nitrate oxide and photochemical smog. Although nitrogen dioxide has remained constant or increased over the years, sulfur dioxide and carbon monoxide levels have declined dramatically in the last 25 years. Unfortunately, the overall air quality appears to be getting worse due to the rise in household energy consumption and in the usage of automobiles. A writer for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* recently observed, "More noticeable to the person on the street is the increase in the level of nitrogen dioxide, the toxic brown gas that belches from the exhausts of diesel-powered buses and trucks." ¹¹

Pollution-Related Health Damage Compensation Law

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Japanese environmental policy, this law establishes a mediation and dispute resolution mechanism for civil disputes concerning pollution damages. Designed primarily to provide immediate relief to those who have suffered from pollution problems, the law does not obligate people to prove that their illnesses are caused by a specific pollution problem. For example, all asthma cases within certain areas with high air pollutants are considered to be "victims" whether or not they are smokers or if there is a family history of asthma. It also forces the company designated to be responsible to pay for all compensatory costs including all medical treatment, disability compensation, compensation to the surviving family, and even funeral

¹¹ Gavin Greenwood. "Environment in Asia 1991", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 19, 1991, pp. 37

expenses. In 1980, 76,000 people were designated as air pollution victims and received some form of financial compensation.

In recent years, international organizations such as the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and World Resources Institute have promoted Japan's apparent environmental success as a model for both industrialized and developing countries. A 1977 OECD report found that Japan's antipollution measures were reducing both sulfur dioxide concentrations and the incidence of industrial waste contamination.¹² Since the history of environmental problems have been discussed, we can now turn to the role of interest groups in the environmental policy making process.

Interest Groups and the Environmental Policy Making Process

Like other public policy matters, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) - dominated Diet, the business establishment, and the government ministries represent the three interest groups who have a major influence on Japan's environmental policies. However, in contrast to traditional public policy matters, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), grass-root pressure groups, and the court system also play significant roles in environmental policy making. Three important characteristics can be identified in the interest group dynamics of environmental policies.

First, the Prime Minister's Office, which technically heads the LDP, has less power than any head of OECD governments. Unlike Prime Ministers and Presidents of these OECD countries, Kiichi Miyazawa, the current Japanese Prime Minister, does not have

¹² Michio Hashimoto. *Economic Development and the Environment: The Japanese Experience*, a report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1992, pp. 18.

much institutional power to initiate government programs.¹³ The implementation process is left to the discretion of senior civil servants of the relevant government ministries. Through the use of quasi-government decrees known as administrative guidances,¹⁴ ministry bureaucrats can adopt as well as implement government legislation. As Chalmers Johnson, a Japan specialist at the University of California - San Diego, argues, "Within the LDP the bureaucratic mainstream and the party politicians,... factions compete with each other with the bureaucrats usually dominant; but for the sake of party unity neither group is ever totally excluded." (Johnson 1982)

Second, the Environment Agency (EA) lacks the organizational capacity and strength of other government ministries. As matter of fact, the EA is not even a true government ministry in the sense that it is a division within the Prime Minister Office without the organizational autonomy of ministries like Finance, Foreign Affairs, and even Agriculture.¹⁵ The chronic underfunding and weak regulatory capability leaves the EA relatively powerless in the bureaucratic turf battles that often take place in Japanese government. For instance, the EA does not have regulatory power over such matters as

¹³ There is some evidence to suggest that the Prime Minister Office and the LDP are gaining power at the expense of the government ministries. See Takashi Inoguchi's *Essays in Japan's Political Economy II* (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 1983) and T.J. Pempel's "The Changing Dynamics of Japanese Policy Formation" in *The Journal of Japanese Studies* Vol.13 No.2 Summer 1987.

¹⁴ Administrative guidances are important to any discussion of Japanese public policies since so many government rules are opaque to both Japanese and non-Japanese interest groups. These guidances have the power but not the rigidity of a formal government regulation.

¹⁵ Turn to table 2 on the organization of the Japanese Government and to table 3 for the Environment Agency.

hazardous waste disposal and radioactive waste storage.¹⁶

The weakness of the EA's agency can be seen in the fate of the national recycling initiative in 1991. The EA thought that it would be a good idea to have a national recycling plan and submitted a proposal to the Diet. However, both MITI and the Ministry of Health & Welfare felt that EA's recycling initiative crossed over to their political jurisdictions and decided to devise their own plans. The Diet proceeded to pass MITI and Health & Welfare alternative proposals and ignore EA's original initiative. One EA official later told the *Japan Times*, an English daily newspaper, the MITI plan "lacked an environmental conservation view."¹⁷

Third, NGOs and grass-root pressure groups play an important role in environmental policy making. There are several thousand groups operating in Japan, with the membership ranging from a few dozen to tens of thousands. Environmental NGOs and grass-root pressure groups can be divided into three groups:¹⁸

Domestic Environmental NGOs

Although small by Western standards, there are several influential domestic environmental NGOs. The Wild Bird Society is probably the largest and most active

¹⁶ MITI is responsible for radioactive waste storage since they are in control of nuclear power and other energy-related matters. Ministry of Health & Welfare is responsible for hazardous waste disposal since they are in control of all industrial and non-industrial waste disposal. Turn to table 1 for more details on the jurisdictions of government ministries.

¹⁷ *Japan Environment Monitor*, Feb. 28 1991, pp.12

¹⁸ Turn to table 4 in the appendix for a description of the environmental NGOs and grass-roots pressure groups.

group in this category. Started in 1934 by a devout Buddhist who promoted bird watching as an esthetic ritual, the group currently has a membership of 40,000 members and operates 10 bird sanctuaries throughout Japan. (McGill 1992) The Nature Conservation Society of Japan, which has a membership of 10,000 members, also focuses on domestic environmental issues and manages several conservation programs protecting marine ecosystems.

There are also dozens of smaller environmental conservation groups that have been organized to oppose specific construction projects. For instance, there are some groups that oppose the construction of golf courses due to the threat to the natural environment. There are also groups that oppose logging in specific forests, and even groups which oppose the construction of certain highways. Save the Nagara River Campaign is one of the well-known and largest grass-root conservation movements in Japan.

Pollution Victim Groups

Pollution victim groups provide legal and organizational support to industrial pollution victims and the Minamata disease survivors. Although the Minamata disease was identified as a potential health problem more than 35 years ago, many people are still fighting in the Japanese court system to obtain their compensation. The businesses who have to pay the pollution damages often appeal the government decisions and these cases usually take years to resolve in the courts, if indeed they are resolved.¹⁹ Pollution victim

¹⁹ There is an extensive literature on the subject of environmental protests and grass-roots citizen movements in Japan. Two of the more useful works are Margaret McKean's *Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) and Frank Upham's *Law and Social Change in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

groups provide legal advice and information to fight in the courts. According to the Environment Agency's 1987 *Quality of the Environment in Japan* report, there are 1,385 certified victims of the Minamata disease and about 94,639 people who suffer from pollution-related respiratory diseases

International Environmental NGOs

Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Worldwide Fund for Nature, and the Japan Tropical Forest Action Network compose the international environmental NGOs community in Japan. Each group focuses on a limited number of domestic as well as international environmental issues like tropical deforestation and overseas development assistance. Although they initially gained some interest due to their foreign origins, they had to spend considerable amount of their time emphasizing their Japanese roots. For instance, Greenpeace Japan has a strict policy of hiring only Japanese staffers, which led to some accusations of nationalism and ethnocentrism.

One interesting point about international NGOs in Japan is the strikingly large number of Japanese environmental groups that have been started by Americans or West Europeans. For instance, Jonathan Holliman, a planner at the United Nations University in Tokyo, is the co-founder of Friends of the Earth Japan. Rick Davis is the editor of the Kofu-based Japan Environmental Monitor that acts as a NGO watchdog on environmental policy issues. Jim Griffith is the founder and former director of Kyoto-based Japan Environmental Exchange, an all-volunteer international citizens' organization. Lena Lindahl, a young Swedish woman, is the manager of Japan office of Global Legislators' Organization for a Balanced Environment (Globe), a Tokyo-based environmental lobbying

group. There are also many smaller environmental NGOs operated by foreigners in the area around Kyoto.

There is no doubt that the heavy foreign presence among environmental activists can be traced to the stigma of working for groups that advocate social change in Japan. Unlike some Western countries, there is no strong philanthropic tradition in Japan, which makes it difficult for nonprofit groups to survive and for many people to regard social causes as viable career choices.

Although some government ministries like MITI initially resisted the adoption of environmental regulations as threats to the country's international competitiveness, Japan changed from a nation that paid the least attention to environmental concerns to one with the most ambitious pollution abatement programs in the world between the mid-1960's and the mid-1970's. Unfortunately, by the end of the 1970's, environmental policy ceased to become a major component of Japan's policy agenda. The weakness of the EA and widespread public impression that pollution problems no longer posed serious public health threats contributed to the decline in environmental activism. "The irony is that Japan has dealt so well with the earlier environmental problems that people assume all the problems have been solved," says Akira Arai, a reporter for the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, who covered the large scale air pollution problems in the early 1970's.²⁰ However, by the middle of the 1980's, the changing political circumstances once again revived the importance of environmental policies in Japan.

²⁰ "The Greening of Japan", *Business Tokyo* magazine, November 1990, pp. 27

Japan has faced many international challenges to its domestic tranquility in the last forty years. As a country which imports much of its energy, Japan had to endure two major oil shortages. The first major shortage happened during the Arab oil embargo in the early 1970's and the second major shortage erupted during the Iraq and Iran War in the early 1980's. Despite fears of economic turmoil, Japan survived these oil shortages and actually improved its international competitiveness. Unlike the U.S., Japan chose to devote enormous amount of resources into energy-efficient technologies and consumer products. Hence, when American consumers started to demand fuel-efficient automobiles and consumer products, Japanese companies were ready to meet their demand.

By the late 1980's, Japan faced more significant changes in its international and domestic political landscape than any period since the end of World War II. This chapter explores three of these changes: fashioning a post-Cold War foreign policy, cultivating a new political image, and the increasing use of *gaiatsu* (outside pressure) in environmental policy making.

Fashioning a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

Two recent political events have had a large impact on Japan's foreign policy. First, the end of the Cold War caused a tremendous political and economic dislocation in U.S.-Japan relations as well as in the international political landscape. Until the demise of the Soviet Union, Japan never had the opportunity to think about the geo-political

implications of living in a single superpower world. Ezra Vogel, professor of social sciences at Harvard University, once observed, "Most Japanese opinion leaders acknowledge that the alliance with America was in their best interest, but the issue was never squarely examined. Only now with the end of the Cold War does Japan have the opportunity to evaluate dispassionately the legacy that became their own without full public debate." (Vogel 1992) With economic competition replacing military competition as the most important foreign policy objective, Japan has already replaced the Soviet Union as the U.S.'s biggest foreign competitor. It is not surprising that some American political analysts are stressing the need to contain Japan, echoing the language of the Cold War.

Second, a strong interest in *kokusaika* (the internationalization of policy) has penetrated all sectors of Japanese society. Once limited to business executives talking about new ways to increase Japanese exports, *kokusaika* has become an obsession among the Japanese public and the political leadership. In a speech to the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1988, Yasuhiro Nakasone remarked that, "Now is the time for the countries of the world in their respective regions to endeavor, not by words but by deeds, to find reasonable and constructive solutions to outstanding problems and to build better and more durable relationships appropriate to the coming century."²¹ Although international cooperation is a favorite topic of political rhetoric, there is no doubt that *kokusaika* is more than an empty public relations gesture. Consider that Japan's Overseas Cooperation

²¹ Yasuhiro Nakasone, "Towards a New International Community", *Survival*, Volume XXX, Number 10, November/December 1988, pp. 498.

Volunteers has almost as many youths per capita overseas as the Peace Corps, its American counterpart. (Vogel 1992)

Threats to Domestic and International Politics

While the Germans were ripping down the Berlin wall and the world was celebrating the end of geo-political competition between the Soviet Union and the U.S., Japan's political reputation began to suffer on an unprecedented scale in the late 1980's. In the domestic arena, the Recruit bribery scandal caused a plunge in public support for former Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and other Japanese politicians.²² According to a telephone survey conducted by *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, Japan's version of the *Wall Street Journal*, only 13% of the public approved while 65% of the people disapproved of the Takeshita administration. More importantly, the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), which hands out millions of dollars in political contributions to the LDP and other political parties, lost faith in Takeshita and his LDP allies.²³

In the international arena, Japan faced three thorny political problems in the late 1980's. First, there was increasing perception that Japan's international influence was not commensurate with its economic influence and that Japan should increase its economic

²² Recruit Scandal: "The scandal centered on a publishing conglomerate called Recruit Co. whose chairman tried to buy favors from powerful politicians with bargain priced shares of its subsidiary ... No top political leaders were charged, but the scandal forced to the sidelines a dozen powerful politicians. Takeshita was forced to resign as prime minister in April 1989 due to this link to the scandal." *Boston Globe* April 27 1991, pp.24

²³ There is no comparable American institution that has the political and economic clout of the Keidanren. While it is possible to be elected President or a senator in the U.S. without the support of the American Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable, or other business interest groups, it would be difficult to rise to a LDP leadership position without Keidanren's political support.

assistance to developing countries. This view became so pervasive that many nations began to see Japan literally as an automatic aid dispenser. As an editorial in the *Asahi Shinbun*, one of the most influential newspapers in Japan put it, "Many dignitaries from many countries visited Japan for the recent Enthronement ceremony. (Former) Prime Minister Kaifu and Foreign Affairs Minister Nakayama spent most of their time at meetings. Kaifu had 59 one-on-one meetings and Mr. Nakayama had 64. At most of these meetings with Prime Ministers and Presidents of developing countries, only Japanese economic aid came up in the conversation. Money, money, and money." ²⁴

Second, trade problems erupted between Japan and the U.S., by far its most important economic partner. Discussions of trade legislation like Super 301 and the Structural Impediments Initiative turned into supercharged debates. Anyone who expressed an opinion on this issue risked permanent tenure in either the Japan-basher or the Japan-apologist club. To paraphrase poet William Butler Yeats, the middle ceased to exist.

Third, Japan began to get labeled as an ecological terrorist. Consider these two provocative news headlines: "Uchi/Soto:Eco-bandit or Eco-model" and "World's Eco-Outlaw?" ²⁵ Many environmental NGOs like Greenpeace started international protest campaigns against Japan's environmental policies. There was so much negative coverage of Japan's global environmental policies that even the Japanese public detected this eco-

²⁴ Japan Free Press' translation of a July 24, 1989 editorial in the *Asahi Shinbun*. Japan Free Press is a English magazine that translates and publishes stories from Japanese newspapers and magazines.

²⁵ The two headlines appeared in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Summer 1990, pp. 17 and *Newsweek*, May 1 1989, pp. 68.

terrorist image. According to a survey done by the Prime Minister Office, 41% of the people responded no to the question, "Do you think other nations see Japan as an international country ?" Of the people who responded no to this question, 59% of the people cited environmental policies as the main reason.²⁶ Although it is difficult to draw firm conclusions from political surveys, Japanese people appear to be sensitive to their country's anti-ecological reputation.

Japan's deteriorating domestic and international reputation did not go unnoticed by senior government officials. Senior LDP politicians began to rethink the country's positions on global environmental issues and formulate strategies to enhance Japan's international reputation. "Taking an initiative in the (environmental) field will improve Japan's image with foreign countries -- an area in which the nation has worked hard. Japan has not been good at publicizing what it has done since the international community believes the nation (Japan) is destroying the global environment," says Kazuo Aichi, a former head of the Environment Agency. (Masoni 1991)

Environmental Gaiatsu

Along with a deteriorating political situation, Japanese politicians had to deal with the *gaiatsu* ("outside pressure" in Japanese) phenomenon. First used by trade negotiators to gain access to the Japanese domestic market, *gaiatsu* now embodies all kinds of diplomatic pressures on Japan.²⁷ Why has *gaiatsu* become a familiar word on Capitol

²⁶ Japan Free Press translation of a March 22, 1992 article in the *Asahi Shinbun*.

²⁷ It is important to distinguish *gaiatsu* from the Japanese tradition of appropriating policy ideas from abroad. *Gaiatsu* implies that outside pressure exerted unwelcome influence over Japanese policies.

Hill ? Yoichi Funabashi, a writer for the *Asahi Shinbun*, offers this explanation: "Japanese words like *nemawashi* (preparing the ground through one-on-one negotiations for a consensus decision) and *zoku* (tribe) are known among the people who deal directly with Japan, but *gaiatsu* has penetrated the entire Capitol Hill. Since Japan's political structure stresses consensus and bottom-up proposals, everything works against establishing a distinct order of priorities, against having a clear loser rather than having everyone bear part of the burden. That's why, regardless of international pressure, there were no moves toward new farm or land policies until *gaiatsu* was applied." ²⁸

Any nation can technically apply outside pressure, but there is a tremendous difference between political pressures from the U.S. and say, Bolivia. The U.S. has had a major economic and political influence on Japanese policies since the end of World War II. The influence of the U.S. on Japanese international diplomacy can be seen in a recent survey of Diet members. In an answer to the question, "Who do you think is making the decision on Japanese diplomacy," 81 people mentioned the LDP, 67 mentioned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 55 mentioned the U.S., and only 15 mentioned the Prime Minister Office. "The fact that one in four legislators believe that Japanese diplomacy is determined in Washington is a rather painful reminder of Japan's dependence on America and its failure to implement its own unique foreign policy." (Fujigane 1991) Although some government ministries invite *gaiatsu* whenever they are politically convenient, many Japanese policy makers are beginning to realize that *gaiatsu* may proliferate if it gets too popular with foreign interest groups.

²⁸ Japan Free Press translation of a July 16, 1990 article in the *Asahi Shinbun*.

Against this backdrop of political disequilibrium, international pressure, especially from the U.S., has forced Japan to go beyond diplomatic tokenism and respond more forcefully on environmental issues. Outside pressure can be seen in three specific examples:

Endangered Species

Japan has been the largest ivory importer in the world, accounting for 40% of the international market. In October 1989, Japan announced a total ban on the ivory trade. In 1991, they agreed to discontinue trade in certain endangered species like sea turtles and the hawksbill. Both actions followed intense political pressures from the U.S., West European Countries, and the environmental NGOs. (Miller 1991)

Driftnets

Japan is one of the largest users of driftnet fishing in the world. Many environmentalists refer to driftnet fishing as aquatic stripmining since the practice kills so many dolphins, sea turtles, and other marine animals. Following intense lobbying efforts by government and NGO organizations, the U.S. Supreme Court approved a ban on the use of driftnet fishing by Japanese fishing boats in U.S. water and 15 South Pacific countries called for a total ban in 1989. Following more actions by the U.S. Congress that pushed for an international ban on driftnet fishing, Japan reduced the number of fishing ships and suspended such driftnet fishing for one year in the South Pacific. (Miller 1991)

Overseas Development Assistance

Japan is now the world's leading foreign aid donor and its overseas development assistance (ODA) budget has grown faster than any country in the world. Between 1978

and 1989, ODA has increased more than 500%. Japan's 1990 ODA budget reached more than \$10 billion, surpassing the U.S. budget of \$9.5 billion.²⁹ Its 1990 aid budget was also sixty percent greater than France's, two and half times Germany's, and five times Britain's.³⁰ Japan is also the top bilateral aid donor to 25 developing countries and is the largest or the second largest contributor to the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the African Development Bank. Julia Chang Block, a former senior official in the U.S. Agency for International Development once observed, "In a short 25 years, Japan has gone from a major recipient of World Bank aid to become the Bank's second largest donor."³¹

Ironically, large increases in Japan's ODA budget have led to two additional environmental *gaiatsu* cases. First, some NGOs charge that the chief beneficiaries of ODA environmental projects are Japanese companies. They cite the \$2 billion dam in Asahan, Indonesia, built largely with Japanese aid as an example. Although the dam project is suppose to provide electricity and economic development to this part of Indonesia, most of the benefits from the new infrastructure tend to serve Japanese companies operating an aluminum refinery. The refinery also uses most of the electricity generated by the dam.

²⁹ Richard Forrest. "Japan Aid and the Environment", *The Ecologist*, Vol.21, No. 1, January/February 1991, pp. 24.

³⁰ Please turn to table 5 in the appendix that compares Japan's ODA program with those of other OECD countries.

³¹ Julia Chang Bloch. "A U.S.-Japan Aid Alliance: Prospects for Cooperation in an Era of Conflict", *The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations*, Harvard University, USJP Occasional Paper 89-07, July 1989, pp. 1.

(McGill 1992)

Second, many pollution-intensive Japanese industries like petro-chemical and paper manufacturers are moving their factories to developing countries to escape stringent environmental regulations. Heavy-metal poisoning has been found in people living around Jakarta Bay, Indonesia, where many Japanese manufacturers operate factories. Citizen groups in the Philippines are now protesting pollution problems near a copper smelter owned by a Japanese trading company. A Malaysia court has ordered the shutdown of a Japanese chemical manufacturer due to the discovery of radioactive waste in nearby farmland and streams. (McGill 1992)

What are the merits of these environmental *gaiatsu* cases ? Are they all legitimate *gaiatsu* cases or are they Japan bashing disguised as *gaiatsu* ? There is no doubt that Japan has been less than vigilant on some environmental issues like driftnet fishing and tropical timber. Outside pressure on these two cases has probably yielded some positive results. However, whether or not criticisms of Japan's ODA program can be described as a legitimate *gaiatsu* case is less clear. For one thing, it is hypocritical to accuse Japan of promoting a foreign aid policy that favors its indigenous commercial interests, since most OECD countries have the same practice. It is also unfair to single out Japan for exporting polluting industries to developing countries since American and European companies have been transplanting their polluting industries for years.³² There is no hard evidence that Japan is a worse pollution exporter than other industrialized countries.

³² Consider the rapid movement of polluting industries from the U.S. to Mexico as the result of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Perhaps the most salient point about Japan's ODA program is that virtually all of the money is focused on economic development and other non-military uses. This is quite different than the case of the U.S. foreign aid program which has a strong military orientation and concentrates most of its assistance on two countries, Israel and Egypt. As noted earlier in the chapter, Japan is the largest bilateral aid donor to 25 developing countries. Although it is not always obvious, it is important to distinguish *gaiatsu* and Japan bashing.

Japan has faced numerous international challenges to its domestic tranquility in the last forty years. In the case of the two major oil shortages, the country was actually able to improve its international competitiveness. However, the end of the Cold War and the rising interest in *kokusaika* have forced this nation to fundamentally rethink its relationship with the U.S. as well as its role in international affairs. Should Japan try to form an Asian economic union to counter the European Economic Community and the North American Free Trade Agreement ? Should Japan play a more active role in military affairs ? Amidst this tremendous political turbulence, Japan faced yet another policy challenge: a rising importance of global environmental issues.

Many current environmental problems can be traced as far back as the start of the Industrial Revolution. Twenty years ago, the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* study warned the international community about the dangers of rapid population growth and resource degradation. Not surprisingly, these same issues dominated the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil. Do environmental concerns reflect cyclical political dynamism, and how does our current environmental commitment compare to those of the past ? This chapter will focus on three themes. First, detailing the rising importance of global environmental issues. Second, discussing the climate change issue. Third, exploring the relationship between Japan and international environmental politics.

Rising Importance of Global Environmental Issues

Global environmental problems have been overlooked in favor of more immediate political objectives for a long time. Similar to what social theorist Thomas Kuhn calls a paradigm shift, however, there are signs that there has been a genuine change in the societal perception of environmental issues. Traditionally, environmental policies have always played a subservient role to economic and military policies. With the growing awareness of such issues as ozone depletion and climate change, the global environmental agenda has gained an unprecedented degree of diplomatic respectability and is redefining

what constitutes national security.³³ In an influential essay published in *Foreign Affairs*, Jessica Tuchman Matthews, Vice President of the World Resource Institute, argued that "Environmental strains that transcend national borders are already beginning to break down the sacred boundaries of national sovereignty The once sharp dividing line between foreign and domestic policy is blurred, forcing governments to grapple in international forums with issues that were contentious enough in the domestic arena." (Matthews 1990)

The Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* study and the U.S. Council on Environmental Quality's *Global 2000* report documented disturbing environmental trends and stressed the importance of international cooperation in the 1970's. The 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development and the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil provide more concrete evidence that there is a growing realization that environmental threats pose serious socio-economic problems and that they will not be unilaterally solved by a single country

Although many global environmental problems have become major policy concerns, the climate change issue has arguably received the most attention. Eugene Skolnikoff, Professor of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, points out that "climate change has become a staple of national and international politics. It is by far the most dramatic environmental issue yet to receive worldwide attention The threat has

³³ The election of Albert Gore as the Vice President of the U.S. is accelerating the importance of environmental politics. He recently chaired a panel of experts which tried to formulate a national government strategy that would encourage economic growth without environmental degradation.

spawned widespread proposals for treaties, international institutions, and major new policies, many of draconian dimension." (Skolnikoff 1990) What is the global warming and what are its policy implications ?

The Climate Change Issue

Also mentioned in the scientific literature as the greenhouse effect, global warming refers to the heat-trapping effects of rising atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. Many mundane human activities including the burning of fossil fuels and firewood cause emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. According to a Royal Institute of International Affairs study, the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide, the most prevalent greenhouse gas, is 25% above the pre-1800 level. (Grubb 1990) Although the heat-trapping effects are referred to as global warming, climate change, and the greenhouse effect, the most accurate way to describe the phenomenon is climate change since our planet would experience temperature fluctuations (some areas of the world would see increases while other areas would see decreases) and seasonal variations in the distribution of rain, snow, humidity, and storm.

However, no one knows what precise levels of temperature fluctuations and precipitation variations will be in the future. The 1990 IPCC report, considered by many people as the bible of the climate change issue, concluded that "emissions resulting from human activities are substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases" and that "knowledge of global mean change and change in precipitation is of limited use in determining the impacts of climate change. We cannot yet give

reliable regional predictions at the smaller scales demanded for impact assessment." ³⁴

Simply put, there is strong evidence of climate change, but we do not know what the specific impacts are going to be. Thomas Schelling of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government notes that "Europeans who migrated to North and South America similarly underwent drastic climatic changes Most people will not undergo in the next hundred years changes in their local climates more drastic than the changes in climate that people have undergone during the past hundred years. The climate of Nebraska may gradually change into the current climate of Kansas, but not into the climate of Massachusetts or Oregon." (Schelling 1990)

However, some scientists fear that even a slight change in temperature would cause several deleterious environmental consequences including agricultural damages, an increase in the sea-level and a sharp rise in the cost of electricity due to use of air conditioning. A 1992 study by the Institute for International Economics tried to quantify the possible damages: (Cline 1992)

Agriculture - Crop damages from possible temperature increases range from \$12 to \$18 billion in the U.S.

Sea-Level Rise - Global warming is expected to raise the level of the seas, as a result of thermal expansion of water and melting of land-based glaciers. A conservative estimate of an one meter sea-level rise will eliminate 3 percent of the earth's land area and will cost billions of dollars in coastal damage. The damage for the U.S. alone range from \$7 billion to \$11 billion.

³⁴ J.T. Houghton, G.J. Jenkins, and J.J. Ephraums (Eds). *The Climate Change: The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Scientific Assessment* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Air Conditioning - The costs of increasing demand for air conditioning as a consequence of global warming will impose \$11.2 billion in the U.S. There will also be a small cost saving associated with reductions in electric heating, estimated at around \$1.3 billion.

Unfortunately, the major problem with these estimates is that they all have large margins of error. For instance, some scientists believe that there will be no agricultural damage in the U.S. since some states will benefit from the effects of global warming. (Cline 1992)

Although there are similarities between the climate change issue and other global environmental problems, three major differences can be noted. First, global warming stems from normal human activities that can not be categorized as aberrant. Many modern conveniences like driving a car produce some greenhouse gases no matter how energy-efficient or ecologically sound we try to make the activities. For example, even if all cars are made to be super fuel-efficient, this will not lead to an increase in air quality if there is also an increase in the number of people who drive automobiles. Second, there are time horizon differences. Unlike more physical environmental problems like the loss of some animal populations, the deleterious effects of global warming may not be evident for hundreds of years. Third, there is the difficulty of measuring and monitoring the greenhouse effect. Many countries are unwilling to compromise their economic growth to attain even a partial reduction in the CO₂ emissions. Moreover, some countries may actually benefit economically from temperature changes produced by climate change.

To adequately understand the history of the climate change issue, one needs to know the chronology of the important policy events. Here is a list of dates starting with the first

international policy meeting on the issue of climate change and ending with the signing of the Climate Change Convention in the 1992 UNCED.³⁵

1968 The first international conference is held in Paris on biosphere issues.

1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment is held in Stockholm.

1979 The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) sponsors the first World Climate Conference meets in Geneva.

1985 UNEP and the WMO sponsor an international conference on the assessment of the role of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

They issue a joint recommendation of national governments to consider climate change in policy making.

1988 Several hundred scientists and environmental officials meet at the Conference on Changing Atmosphere in Toronto and advocate a 20% worldwide reduction in carbon dioxide by 2005.

1988 At an international conference sponsored by UNEP and WMO, the IPCC is created to assess scientific information on climate change and to formulate appropriate policy responses.

1989 Seventeen countries gather at the Hague and call for a new international institution with the powers to enforce the provisions of a global warming agreement.

1989 At the Ministerial Conference on Atmospheric and Climatic Change in the Netherlands, most participating nations except for Japan, the U.S., and the former

³⁵ The dates are based on Center for Global Change's briefing paper, *International Negotiations on Climate Change*, February 3 1992.

Soviet Union, oppose a plan to enact a 20% cut in the carbon dioxide emissions.

1990 At the second World Climate Conference in Geneva, all OECD countries excluding the U.S. support a CO₂ stabilization plan. Japan and the European Community agreed to limit CO₂ emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

1991 U.S. Office of Technology Assessment concludes in a report that the U.S. can achieve a 35% cutback in its CO₂ levels without technological breakthroughs.

1992 At the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Brazil, representatives of 153 countries sign the Convention on Climate Change. The objective of the convention is: "stabilization of greenhouse-gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system ... within a time frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally." ³⁶

Unfortunately, the convention does not spell out any specific commitments to limit the emissions of carbon dioxide. Instead of detailed commitments, the countries accept a vaguely worded goal of returning their emissions to "earlier levels" by the turn of the century. ³⁷

1993 The U.S. decide to join the OECD countries and agree to limit CO₂ emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

With the U.S.'s decision to reverse its policy and join Japan and the European

³⁶ Edward Parson, Peter Haas, and Marc Levy. "A Summary of the Major Documents Signed at the Earth Summit and the Global Forum," *Environment*, Volume 34, No. 8, pp. 13.

³⁷ Just because a country signs a climate change convention, it does not mean that the country is signing a legally binding document. The convention merely sets the goals without specifying a certain time or level of commitment. Other than slight embarrassment, there is no penalty for disregarding both the letter and the spirit of the convention.

Community's stance on the climate change issue, all OECD countries now have the same position on the climate change issue: limit carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.³⁸ Unfortunately, in order to have a real freeze or a reduction in the CO₂ emissions level, two large institutional roadblocks need to be resolved. First, there has to be a more credible enforcement of emissions pledges. For instance, Germany's plan to cut carbon dioxide emissions by 25% by the year 2005 is widely applauded by many environmentalists. However, since there is no penalty for not fulfilling the emissions pledge, all proposals are somewhat empty gestures until they are actually realized.

Second, some of the largest carbon dioxide emitting countries have not yet committed to any timetables to stabilize or reduce their emissions. Russia/the former Soviet Republics, China, India, and most of the developing countries make up more than half of the world's annual CO₂ emissions and any effective international agreement has to include their participation.³⁹ Some countries like China, which has large deposits of high sulfur coal, may not be willing to sacrifice their economic growth unless the industrialized countries agree to provide substantial technical and economic assistance.

Japan and Environmental Politics

What is the impact of rising importance of climate change and other global

³⁸ Germany has a slightly more ambitious plan to cut carbon dioxide emissions by 25% by the year 2005.

³⁹ According to the 1991 Environment Agency report, *Environmental Protection Policy in Japan*, the U.S. emits 24.2% of the world's CO₂, Russia and former Soviet Republics - 18.7%, China - 9.7%, Japan - 4.7%, West Germany - 3.4%, and India - 2.9%. With the merger of East and West Germany, Germany may have replaced Japan as the fourth largest CO₂ emitter.

environmental issues on Japan ? In the last five years, there has undoubtedly been a dramatic increase in environmental awareness in Japan.⁴⁰ The Japanese translation of *50 Simple Things You Can Do to Save The Earth* became a best-selling book. According to a 1990 survey by the Prime Minister Office, 42% of respondents were concerned about global environment problems, with the emphasis on protecting the ozone layer and reducing carbon dioxide emissions. This increase in concern is particularly impressive considering that a 1989 survey revealed that only 20% of respondents expressed a strong interest in environmental issues.⁴¹

On the business level, a 1990 *Japan Economic Journal* survey found that more than half of 113 major companies have established or plan to establish environmental departments. In 1991, even Keidanren, the conservative business organization, produced a charter that outlined its global environmental principles. The charter stated that:

"We must aim to construct a society whose members cooperate together on environmental problems, a society where sustainable development on a global scale is possible, where companies enjoy relationship of mutual trust with local citizens and consumers, and where they vigorously and freely develop their operations while preserving the environment."⁴²

On the government level, almost every major ministry or agency has added a global

⁴⁰ A 14-nation UNEP survey (May 1989) concluded that Japan had the lowest percentage of people who expressed a desire to contribute money or labor to improve their environment. Since multi-nation surveys are notorious for their methodological problems, it would be wise not to attach too much significance to the results.

⁴¹ Japan Free Press translation of a August 6, 1990 article in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*.

⁴² Global Environmental Charter printed in the July/August 1991 issue of *Japan Environment Monitor*.

environmental department in the last five years. The Environment Agency established its global environmental division in July 1990, making it the first new EA division in almost 16 years. MITI, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Construction, and others have either established or expect to establish global environmental divisions. Not to be outdone, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in a bid to make a contribution to protecting the global environment adopted several action programs in 1989. Tokyo is probably the only city in the world with an action program on global environmental issues.

On the political level, environmental issues have turned into a cause celebre among the Diet members. Although a small group of people who belong to the environment *zoku*⁴³ have existed for many years, environmental issues have never drawn attention from powerful LDP politicians like former Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and former Finance Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto until a few years ago. A group of LDP politicians formed the *Kankyo Kihonmondai Kondankai* (Discussion Group on Basic Environmental Problems) in February 1992. According to Lena Lindahl of Globe Japan, "they were formed to push for a new basic law on the environment that would incorporate current environment legislation in a global framework."⁴⁴ Since most of the members have held senior ministerial positions and represent various LDP political factions, this group is no doubt a powerful alliance that cuts across the traditional political network.

The climate change and other global environmental issues are no longer playing a

⁴³ *Zoku* refers to a group of politicians who are known to be specialists in certain policy issues like the environment or international trade.

⁴⁴ Interview with Lena Lindahl of Globe Japan, January 17, 1993. Globe is an acronym for Global Legislators' Organization for a Balanced Environment.

subservient role to economic and military policies. There is an increasing realization that environmental threats pose serious socio-economic problems and despite the number of institutional roadblocks, the international cooperation will be the key to solving the problem of global warming.

In the case of Japan, the rising importance of global environmental issues has led to a noticeable increase in environmental awareness in all sectors of society. People are buying books with ecological themes. Companies are establishing environmental departments. Politicians are joining environmental lobby groups. Perhaps the best evidence of increasing environmental consciousness is the large number of people who use the word *kankyo* instead of the word *kogai* for environment. During the 1960's environmental movement in the U.S., many people argued that the environment has to be seen as a complex interrelated whole instead of fragments and sub-categories like pollution and natural resources. Instead of the word *kogai*, which means pollution, there is an increasing number of Japanese who use the word *kankyo*, which is closer to the Western sense of the interrelated whole. It appears as if Japan has crossed this important linguistic threshold. The stage is now set for Japan to enter the global environmental policy arena.

Chapter Four The Struggle to Shape Japan's Climate Change Policy

Japan's climate change policy did not appear in a sudden and dramatic fashion. Like most Japanese public policies, the climate change policy went through more than ten years of consensus-building within the Japanese political system. However, in the case of this environmental issue, the various interest groups responded quickly to influence the policy agenda. "The global warming issue gained the interest of a plurality of actors who hurriedly maneuvered to get access to scarce information and financial resources," says Miranda Schreurs, a University of Michigan graduate student who is writing her dissertation on Japan's environmental policy. (Schreurs 1992) To trace the development of Japan's climate change policy, one needs to do three things. First, list the chronology of important policy events. Second, identify the key interest groups who influenced the decision-making process. Third, discuss the important policy interaction between interest groups.

Japan's Global Warming Policy - Chronology of Events

1982 Japan's Research Group on Global Environmental Protection, chaired by former Foreign Affairs Minister Saburo Okita, proposes to the UN to create a World Commission on Environment and Development. The proposal is later turned into the 1987 international commission that produced the famous report, *Our Common Future*.

1986 Environment Agency issues a report, *Long-Term Plan for Environment Protection*, which addresses Japan's impact on the international environment and the need to educate the importance of environmental protection. However, the report lacks any

specific proposals.⁴⁵

1988 November - At an international conference sponsored by UNEP and WMO, the IPCC is created to assess scientific information on climate change and to formulate appropriate policy responses. Japan agrees to become co-chair of a subcommittee on energy and the environment.

November - Environment Agency's Panel on Global Warming, composed of university and government experts, issues a report, *Interim Report on Global Warming*. The report argues that: "It is now necessary both to actively promote studies on global warming and to take feasible actions as soon as possible, based on scientific and technological information, already available."

Although the report lacks any specific proposals, the panel emphasizes that "the gradual and persistent nature of the problem precludes waiting to impose policies until after the resolution of scientific uncertainties, and also "recognizes the need for financial and technical aid to address the growing emissions of greenhouse gases from developing countries."⁴⁶

1989 May - Government of Japan establishes the Ministerial Council on Global Environment Conservation, which includes representatives from all government ministries and agencies. The council agrees to:

- 1) To positively participate in formulating an international framework for protecting the global environment and promote measures from a global viewpoint.
- 2) To pursue the development and transfer of technology for global environmental protection, thus contributing to the various international efforts.

June - Upon resigning from the prime minister position, Noboru Takeshita announces that he will make environmental problems as his "special issue area" and becomes the chairman of the Diet Environment Alliance, an association of

⁴⁵ Environment Agency, Government of Japan, *Long-Term Plan for Environmental Protection* (Tokyo:Environment Agency, December 1986)

⁴⁶ Alan Miller. "Three Reports on Japan and the Global Environment", *Environment*, Volume 31, Number 6, July/August 1989, pp. 28.

Diet members interested in environmental issues.⁴⁷

July - Prime Minister Sousuke Uno announces that 1989 will be Japan's year of global environmental diplomacy.

July - At a meeting of the Group of Seven (G-7) industrial nations, Prime Minister Uno announces an additional \$35 billion in Japan's five-year economic assistance program to developing countries, increasing the value of the package to \$65 billion.

September - At the Tokyo Conference on the Global Environment and Human Response Towards Sustainable Development, Japan announces more details of its plan to provide economic and technical assistance to developing countries.

November - At Ministerial Conference on Atmospheric and Climatic Change, the U.S., Japan, and the former Soviet Union oppose a plan to enact a 20% in the carbon dioxide emissions.

1990 MITI's newly created global environmental affairs office argues that any kind of reduction or stabilization of carbon dioxide emissions is virtually impossible without curtailing economic growth.

On the other hand, the Environment Agency argues that an emissions stabilization plan is possible.

1990 July - Japan announces the formation Research Institute of Innovative Technology for the Earth (RITE), a public-private environmental research institute administered by MITI.

October - The Japanese Government announces its Action Program to Arrest Global Warming.

- 1) "To set targets that will limit CO₂ emissions, based on the common efforts of the major industrialized countries, to limit CO₂ emissions by stabilizing the CO₂ on a per capita basis in the year 2000 and beyond at about the same level as in 1990, and also by making efforts to

⁴⁷ When Japanese Prime Ministers resign from their position, they will typically announce a special issue area they will become active in. For instance, when former Prime Minister Nakasone resigned from his position, he announced that he will focus on defense-related issues.

stabilize the total amount of CO₂ emissions in the year 2000 and beyond, through the development of innovative technologies at the pace and in the scale greater than currently predicted".

- 2) "To progressively implement comprehensive measures towards the attainment of the set targets."
- 3) "To review this program, as necessary, so that a flexible response is possible to international trends and accumulated scientific findings." ⁴⁸

1992 Japan's national report to 1992 UNCED proposes that countries make the following two commitments:

- 1) "All parties shall limit emissions of greenhouse gases."
 - 2) "Industrialized countries, in particular, shall make the best efforts aimed at stabilizing emissions of CO₂ or CO₂ and other greenhouse gases not controlled by the Montreal Protocol, as soon as possible, for example, in general at 1990 levels, recognizing the differences in approach and starting point in the formulation of objectives." ⁴⁹
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Since we now understand the history of the climate change negotiations, we can turn our attention to the interest groups who shaped Japan's climate change policy.

Stakeholders in the Global Warming Agenda

There are five main Japanese interest groups/stakeholders who played an important role in the development of the Japanese global warming agenda: NGOs and Grass-Roots Pressure Groups; the Media; the Prime Minister Office and the LDP; Business Interests;

⁴⁸ Council of Ministers for Global Environmental Conservation, The Government of Japan. *Action Program to Arrest Global Warming*, October 23 1990.

⁴⁹ Government of Japan's National Report to UNCED 1992. *Environment and Development Japan's Experience and Achievement*, December 1991.

and the Government Ministries -- the EA, MITI, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Each interest group had its own particular policy interest in the climate change policy.

NGOs and Grass-Root Pressure Groups

As described in chapter one, NGOs and grass-root pressure groups have had a significant impact on Japanese environmental policies. Unfortunately, due to the increasing complexity of the greenhouse effect and the lack of a direct public health threat, many NGO groups have not been able to extend their success to global environmental problems. Greenpeace Japan has been one of the major exceptions. Even among the more effective environmental NGOs, Greenpeace has probably been the most aggressive in monitoring global environmental issues in Japan.⁵⁰ Despite severe financial and institutional constraints, Greenpeace has been able to work within the Japanese political system without being co-opted by government and business interest groups.⁵¹ "Greenpeace has a very negative reputation in Japan because of the whaling issue. I remember going to Britain and being surprised how much support Greenpeace had in the country and seeing for the first time that environmentalism is a credible cause," says Yasuko Matsumoto, Greenpeace Japan's climate change and ozone depletion specialist.⁵² "Unlike other OECD countries, Japan still sends people from its economic

⁵⁰ Friends of the Earth Japan is the other international NGO that covers the climate change issue in Japan.

⁵¹ Unlike the U.S., it is difficult for Japanese not-for-profit groups and NGOs to exist without governmental support. One of the main roadblocks is the labyrinthine paperwork that is necessary to establish a tax-exempt status.

⁵² Interview with Yasuko Matsumoto at the Greenpeace Japan office in Tokyo, January 17, 1993.

and foreign affairs ministries to international environmental conferences. This makes it harder to lobby government officials, but the Japanese government can no longer afford to ignore groups like Greenpeace International. Over the past few years, government officials have been more receptive to us," she says.

Media

The Japanese media has played a significant role in publicizing and in some cases pushing the global warming agenda. According to Yomidas, an information database firm, the number of articles containing the words earth and environment grew six-fold between 1988 and 1990. Coverage of the global warming issue went from a few articles per month in the four Nikkei newspapers in 1988 to 100 or more per month by mid-1989. (Schreurs 1992)⁵³

A continued Armageddon media coverage of the global warming issue also fueled the public interest. For instance, many stories reported that the viability of Asia's table crops and by extension much of its economic base are threatened and that a rise in sea level caused by the melting of the polar glaciers would make most of the island nations including Japan virtually inhabitable. Moreover, whereas the policy ramification of the desertification problem seems far removed from the daily realities of most Japanese people, the impacts of an extremely hot summer or an extremely cold winter feel much more threatening.

Compared to their American counterpart, there are two reasons Japanese journalists

⁵³ A hot summer in 1989 triggered a measurable increase in the public awareness of the climate change issue around this time.

are more likely to influence policy making. First, Japanese journalists are relatively freer to express their opinions in news stories. Consider the bellicose tone of the following piece that ran in the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, "For all the posturing and shouting about how they are working on environmental problems, Japanese companies can't seem to put their technology where their mouth is." ⁵⁴ This kind of personal invective and moralizing are rare in the American media unless they appear in the opinion-editorial or the news analysis section. Second, major Japanese daily newspapers are circulated all over the country and virtually every Japanese reads one of the major national newspapers like the *Mainichi Shinbun*, the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, or the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*. The situation is very different than the U.S. where there are no national newspapers with the possible exception of the Wall Street Journal. Although a specific example can not be cited, these two differences give Japanese journalists greater capacity to influence policy making than American journalists. Kazuo Yamazaki, a staff writer for *The Nikkan Kogyo Shinbun*, feels that Japanese journalists have played a special role in shaping the environmental agenda.

Prime Minister and the LDP

As described in chapter three, the reputation of Japan's government policies significantly deteriorated in the late 1980's. Instead of keeping low political profiles, Takeshita and other LDP politicians decided to exploit two opportunities that arose from a rising interest in global environmental issues. First, Japanese politicians decided to use the national interest in environmental issues as a way to raise political contributions. All

⁵⁴ Japan Free Press translation of a March 9, 1992 article in *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*.

Japanese politicians understand that fundraising is one of most important factors in political longevity. Some LDP politicians like Noboru Takeshita and Shin Kanemaru have used their skills in fundraising to rise to leadership positions. ⁵⁵ "Politicians like Takeshita and Hashimoto are not ordinary Diet members. They feel secure in their Diet seats so they have the luxury to think about international issues and look for ways to raise money," says Kazuo Yamazaki, a writer for the *Nikkan Kogyo Shinbun* newspaper.

Second, Japanese policy makers realized that global environmental issues offer a safe way to address the issue of international burden sharing. "Japan has witnessed a significant change in the political landscape and some politicians began to see the environment as a safe way to address such problems as burden sharing," says Hirohiko Nishikubo, the environmental attache at the Japanese Embassy in Washington. ⁵⁶ International burden sharing was an extremely important issue at this time because many countries, especially the U.S., felt that Japan did not adequately contribute to the recent Persian Gulf War. Unlike many OECD countries who contributed troops and military supplies, Japan chose not to participate except to make a financial contribution to the international effort to disengage Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

As soon as the Persian Gulf War ended, Takeshita proposed that Japan make a \$13 billion contribution to the U.N., which would match its contribution to the Persian Gulf War. A few months later, Maurice Strong, chairman of UNCED, asked Takeshita to

⁵⁵ Some companies rate politicians and make a political donation according to a formal grading system.

⁵⁶ Phone interview with Hirohiko Nishikubo, environmental attache at the Japanese Embassy, December 11, 1992.

gather political support for the upcoming international environmental conference in Brazil. Takeshita organized the 1992 Eminent Persons Conference, which attracted such political luminaries as former President Jimmy Carter, Singapore's long-time ruler Lee Kuan Yew, and Oscar Arias Sanchez, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and the former president of Costa Rica. A *New Yorker* magazine article on UNCED observed that, "During the preceding week, it made page one news each day and was discussed on all the morning and evening television and radio news shows." ⁵⁷ The personal political gain for Takeshita was relatively small. However, many Japanese political analysts noticed that the head of the Japanese delegation to UNCED singled out Takeshita's role in organizing the Eminent Persons Conference and drafting the Tokyo Declaration on Financing Global Environment and Development in his speech to the UNCED assembly

Business Interests

Many companies from all over the world are drawn to the growing environmental business market. According to the consulting firm Freedonia Group, the total market for just the U.S. hazardous waste handling services is projected to be \$20 billion by 1994. Japanese firms are drawn to the environmental sector for two additional reasons. First, with its excellent track record of developing commercially-viable technologies, Japan is ideally situated to transfer a wide range of advanced technologies to the rest of the world. Second, Japanese companies have already made a strong commitment to developing the next generation of energy-efficient technologies. Japan is already the world's largest

⁵⁷ John Newhouse. "The Diplomatic Round: Earth Summit" *New Yorker* June 1, 1992, pp. 77

manufacturers of solar photovoltaic cells, which produce electricity from sunlight, and power plant pollution control systems.⁵⁸ Moreover, the country is also spending millions of dollars every year on the development of advanced refrigerants for compression heat pumps, high-performance bioreactors, and other environmentally-friendly technologies.

Japan's interest in the environmental business sector has not escaped the notice of some people like Vice President Albert Gore. In responding to a question during the 1992 Presidential elections, Mr. Gore thundered, "You know Japan and Germany are both openly proclaiming to the world now that the biggest new market in the history of world business is the market for new products and technologies that foster economic progress without environmental destruction. Why is the Japanese business organization, the largest one they have, the Keidanren, arguing for tougher environmental standards than those embodied in U.S. law ? Well, maybe they're just dumb about business competition, but maybe they (already know)... that the future will call for greater efficiency and greater environmental efficiency."⁵⁹

Government Ministries

Three government actors played an important role in shaping the climate change policy. In the case of the Environment Agency, the climate change issue gave the EA an opportunity to build coalitions with environmental NGO groups and possibly increase its power over the domestic environmental agenda. One top ranking official at the

⁵⁸ Curtis Moore, "Bush Nonsense on Jobs and the Environment," *The New York Times*, September 25, 1992 A33.

⁵⁹ The Vice Presidential Debate between Dan Quayle and Albert Gore in October 13, 1992.

Environment Agency notes that the government would now have to be concerned with domestic environmental issues like the impact assessment law. (Schreurs 1992) Not surprisingly, the EA uses the slogan, "think globally, but start at home."

In the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the climate issue offered two important political dividends. First, the adoption of the climate change policy would lead to an increase in the ODA budget, which is controlled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As noted earlier in the chronology of events, Japan announced a five-year \$65 billion financial assistance package to developing countries. Second, Japan gained an opportunity to formulate a major international political initiative. Unlike the Persian Gulf crisis, the climate change issue offered a chance for the Japanese government to propose a major initiative that utilized the country's well-established expertise in energy-efficient technologies and solidified its reputation as a key player in international affairs. "[Environmental issues] came at a time when Japan was not exerting overseas political leadership," says Dr. Edward Malloy of the American Embassy in Japan. "On the international front, Japan was very unimaginative. When global environmental issues began to receive a lot of attention, Japan saw an opportunity to exert some leadership," he says. ⁶⁰

In the case of MITI, the ministry saw a tremendous business opportunity in the climate change issue. MITI's special interest in this issue can be seen in the number of MITI-sponsored institutes that conduct research on climate change and other global

⁶⁰ Interview with Dr. Edward Malloy at the American Embassy in Japan, January 16, 1993.

environmental issues: the Global Industrial and Social Progress Research Institute, the International Center for Environmental Technology, New Energy and Industrial Technology Development Organization (NEDO), and the Research Institute of Innovative Technology for the Earth (RITE). Kyoto-based RITE, a research consortium many describe as the best-funded national project in Japanese history, is the centerpiece of the climate change research initiative. With more than two hundred researchers and a \$50 million annual budget, RITE is currently researching such things as biodegradable plastics, chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) substitutes, and other environmentally-friendly products. "In the event of an international agreement to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, both the Japanese industry and government understand their impact (environmental technologies) on international trade, " says Katsuo Seiki, a former MITI deputy director-general in charge of global environmental affairs. "This is consistent with the sensitivity of the Japanese government and industry to the implication for international trade of the domestic policies of other nations," he says. ⁶¹

Policy Interactions between Interest Groups

By late 1989, most Japanese policy makers knew that some form of climate change plan was imminent. At an October 1989 preparatory meeting for the 1992 UNCED, Japan's representative, Katsumi Sezaki, said in the meeting that: "The issue of the global environment in one of the most urgent and serious facing us today as regards to the issue of global warming, Japan for its part will intensify its efforts to develop technology

⁶¹ Curtis Moore and Alan Miller. *Environmental Technologies and Policies of Japan* (McLean, VA: The Technology Clearinghouse 1992) pp. 3

for highly efficient production of energy." ⁶² Since European countries like Germany and the Netherlands have announced their CO₂ proposals, Japan was under enormous pressure to respond in some fashion. Unfortunately, due to the lack of consensus on the climate change issue, Japan chose not to adopt a CO₂ emissions plan during the 1989 climate conference in the Netherlands. By June 1990, the Inter-ministerial Council on Global Environmental Protection issued a report that Japan would prepare an Action Plan to Address Global Warming. The council report said that, "Taking into consideration international movements around global warming, the accumulation of scientific knowledge, economic management, and the people's lifestyle, and having conducted sufficient research on stabilizing CO₂ emissions at the lowest level possible, an appropriate concrete target for the year 2000, as was considered in the Noordwijk Convention, will be worked on." (Schreurs 1992) Many political analysts speculated that Japan would announce some form of CO₂ emissions plan to coincide with the Second World Climate Conference in October, 1990.

The major point of contention in the struggle to develop Japan's climate change policy centered on whether or not stabilization of CO₂ emissions would be possible without sacrificing economic growth. Based on its energy consumption research, MITI argued that a stabilization of emissions would be impossible. Unless economic growth is to be unaffected, CO₂ emissions have to increase at least by 16% by the year 2000, with

⁶² Statement by Katsumi Sezaki, Representative of Japan on Agenda Item 82: Environment and Agenda Item 85: Protection of Global Climate at the Meeting of the Second Committee at 44th Session of the General Assembly, United Nations, October 27, 1989.

stabilization not being possible until 2010. Normally, this would be enough to settle any policy disputes. With its small budget and weak organizational power, the EA normally does not stand up to MITI and other growth-oriented ministries. However, in this case, the EA decided to fight back. Using studies provided by Greenpeace Japan, the EA countered that it would be possible to limit current carbon emissions at 1990 levels while achieving a 4% growth in the economy. At a ministerial meeting to settle the carbon emissions issue, MITI surprisingly backed down from its original energy projections and chose to support EA's position. According to the *Japan Times*, a major English-language newspaper, MITI changed its original projections and agreed with EA that "CO 2 emissions could be reduced if measures that were not discussed in the (MITI's) energy outlook report are implemented on schedule." ⁶³ When Japan released its Action Program on Global Warming in October 1990, the government essentially adopted the EA's position on CO 2 emissions: to limit CO 2 emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. Moreover, Japan's 1992 national report to UNCED contained the same global warming position.

Despite what it looks like on the surface, it would be a mistake to regard Japan's global warming policy as simply as an EA victory over MITI or as a sudden turnaround in environmental consciousness. However, one can draw three important conclusions from Japan's global warming policy. First, NGOs are starting to have an important impact on Japanese policy making. One of the most surprising thing about the whole affair is that

⁶³ June 18, 1990 article in the *Japan Times* as reported in *Japan Environmental Monitor*, Vol.3, No.3, June 30 1990.

Greenpeace Japan had such an influential role in the decision making process. Since many Japanese still consider Greenpeace as a radical foreign group, it is a bit surprising that this environmental NGO was able to penetrate the opaque Japanese policy making process.⁶⁴ One of the more important impacts of Japan's commitment to *kokusaika* has been the increased influence of Greenpeace and other foreign interest groups. As T.J. Pempel put it, "The potential for foreign influence on specifics is far greater than ever before if and when the appropriate alliances within Japan can be forged. No longer does the foreigner confront "Japan." Instead, it is possible to ferret around in various pockets of power and influence in the search for potential allies in what will inevitably be a political bargaining process, not the exertion of influence by fiat." (Pempel 1987)

Second, although MITI opposed a CO₂ stabilization plan, Japan's global warming policy can not be seen as a loss for MITI. The New Earth 21, one of Japan's largest public-private research initiative in its history, insures that MITI will have firm control over the tremendous resources that will be allocated to energy-efficient technologies. Moreover, with the expected jump in the demand for non-fossil fuel sources of energy, this would make it easier for MITI to push for its plan to double Japan's nuclear power capacity. "MITI has been able to convert an apparent loss into a major political gain. In essence, New Earth 21 has brought more acceptance of its nuclear power program, increased assistance for its overseas development fund, and other commercial ventures to

⁶⁴ The Environment Agency used Steward Boyl and Jeremy Leggett's Greenpeace study, *CO₂ to Nihon: CO₂ Haishutsuryo No Aneika De Wa Ondanka No Kaiketsu Ni Wa Naranai*. The relationship between EA and Greenpeace Japan can be found in Miranda Schreurs' 1992 working paper, "International Environmental Problems and Japanese Domestic Policy Making."

MITI, " says Dr. Edward Malloy, the scientific counselor at the American Embassy in Japan. ⁶⁵

Third, there is no doubt that the U.S. has played an important role in Japan's climate change policy. Since there was no policy agreement between the U.S. and the European Community on the climate change issue, Japan had the unpleasant choice of offending either its most important or its second most important economic partner. Japan eventually chose to follow the European Community's position, but the "Pledge and Review" proposal clearly showed how far Japan would go to avoid disagreeing with the U.S. During the 1991 international conference on climate change at Geneva, Japan released a controversial proposal called "Pledge and Review," which would enable countries to could make their specific pledges to control CO 2 emissions after they sign the 1992 Climate Change Convention. In other words, countries could sign the convention and decide afterward if they want to adopt some form of emissions control. The most surprising aspect of this plan is that it is much less stringent than Japan's 1990 climate change policy. This controversial announcement surprised many people, including many high-ranking Japanese government officials. When journalists started to ask questions about the new proposal, it became embarrassingly clear that even Kazuo Aichi, the head of Environment Agency, was not consulted about the "pledge and review" proposal before the official announcement.

Why would Japan make this proposal and risk political embarrassment ? According

⁶⁵ Interview with Dr. Edward Malloy at the American Embassy in Japan, January 16 1993.

to the *Japan Environment Monitor*, "the purpose appears to be a conciliatory gesture to the U.S., which would benefit most from such a delay. By putting the proposal forward, Japan has cast itself in the role of acting on behalf of the U.S., thereby undercutting the European countries,... " ⁶⁶ Pat Murdo of Japan Economic Institute noted in one of her reports that, "In what some observers have considered as a move to win U.S. compliance for a climate change, MITI had weakened the government's 1990 proposal by pushing the "pledge and review" concept internationally." (Murdo 1992)

⁶⁶ "MITI Treat Proposal is a Conciliatory Gesture to U.S.", *Japan Environment Monitor*, June 30 1991, pp. 13.

Conclusion

Japan's record on environmental policies, especially on international issues, has been decidedly mixed. On the one hand, Japan has made tremendous progress in reducing the levels of sulfur dioxide, nitrate dioxide, and other air pollutants. On the other hand, Japan's policies on endangered species, tropical timber, and other conservation-related issues failed to meet international environmental standards for many years. Although it is a bit polemical to label Japan as an ecological outlaw, there is no doubt that Japan has been extremely slow in recognizing the importance of global environmental issues.⁶⁷ If this is the case, why did the climate change issue receive so much attention from Japanese policy makers ? What made this particular environmental problem such as an urgent issue in Japan ?

Three important factors contributed to the development of the global agenda in Japan. First, unlike some international environmental issues like tropical timber and desertification, the climate change issue had a significant impact on Japanese public consciousness. Whereas the immediate policy ramification of many global environmental issues seem far removed from the daily realities of most Japanese, the societal impacts of an extremely hot summer or an extremely cold winter feel much more ominous. With the help of the media, many Japanese realized that global warming threatened the

⁶⁷ As of 1979, Japan had refrained from ratifying a single major environmental convention. (Gresser 1981)

economic lifeline of Asia and could have a strong impact on many island nations like Japan.

Second, five interest groups played an important role in pushing the climate change issue onto the Japanese policy agenda: NGOs and Grass-Roots Pressure Groups; the Media; the Prime Minister Office and the LDP; Business Interests; and the Government Ministries -- the EA, MITI, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There were some natural interest group alliances, as in the case of MITI and the business interests. However, there were also some non-traditional interest group alliances, as in the case of the EA and Greenpeace Japan. When Greenpeace Japan provided energy studies and other information to the EA, Greenpeace did more than just help the EA in its inter-ministerial conflict with MITI. This international environmental NGO had a direct impact on Japan's policy making process. Since many Japanese still consider Greenpeace as a radical foreign group, it is bit surprising that this environmental NGO was able to have such an influential role in the decision making process of the Japanese government.

Third, due to the synergistic pressure caused by the end of the Cold War, the increasing use of environmental *gaiatsu*, and the increasing importance of *kokusaika*, Japan felt compelled to have a credible international presence. With the rising importance of global environmental problems, Japan used the climate change issue to fill this policy void. However, in the case of the climate change issue, Japan was also put in an uncomfortable position of lobbying the U.S. to join the international community, a sort of reverse *gaiatsu*. It will be interesting to see how Japan balances the need to formulate a credible international role and its traditional support of U.S. foreign policy initiatives.

There is no doubt that Japan will continue to be forced to choose between preserving friendly ties with the U.S. and maintaining a more independent policy stance.

Appendix

TABLE 1 JAPAN'S ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS

Item	Area of Responsibility	Relevant Laws	Jurisdiction
1. General Pollution Control Measures	Planning of Pollution Control Measures	Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control	Environment Agency
	Environmental Quality Standards	Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control	Environment Agency
	International Relations		Ministry of Foreign Affairs, MITI, and EA
2. Air Pollution	Standards for Emissions from Factories and other Industrial Sources	Air Pollution Control Law <hr/> Electric Power Industry Law	Environment Agency <hr/> MITI

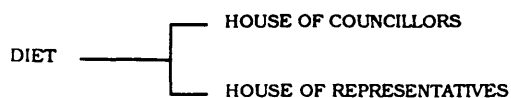
	Standards for Automobile Emissions	Air Pollution Control Law <hr/> Transportation Law	Environment Agency <hr/> Ministry of Transportation
3. Water Pollution	Quality Standards for Industrial Effluent	Water Pollution Control Law <hr/> Electric Power Industry Law	Environment Agency <hr/> MITI
4. Waste Disposal	Disposal of Industrial and Non-Industrial Wastes	Waste Disposal and Public Cleansing Law	Ministry of Health & Welfare and MITI
5. Dispute Resolution and Compensation for Pollution Damages	Settlement of Environmental Pollution Disputes	Laws covering the Settlement of Environmental and Pollution Disputes	Prime Minister's Office
	Relief Programs for Pollution Victims		Environment Agency and MITI

Note: There are also national regulations which on noise, agriculture chemicals, construction of facilities and land utilization, and offensive odors.

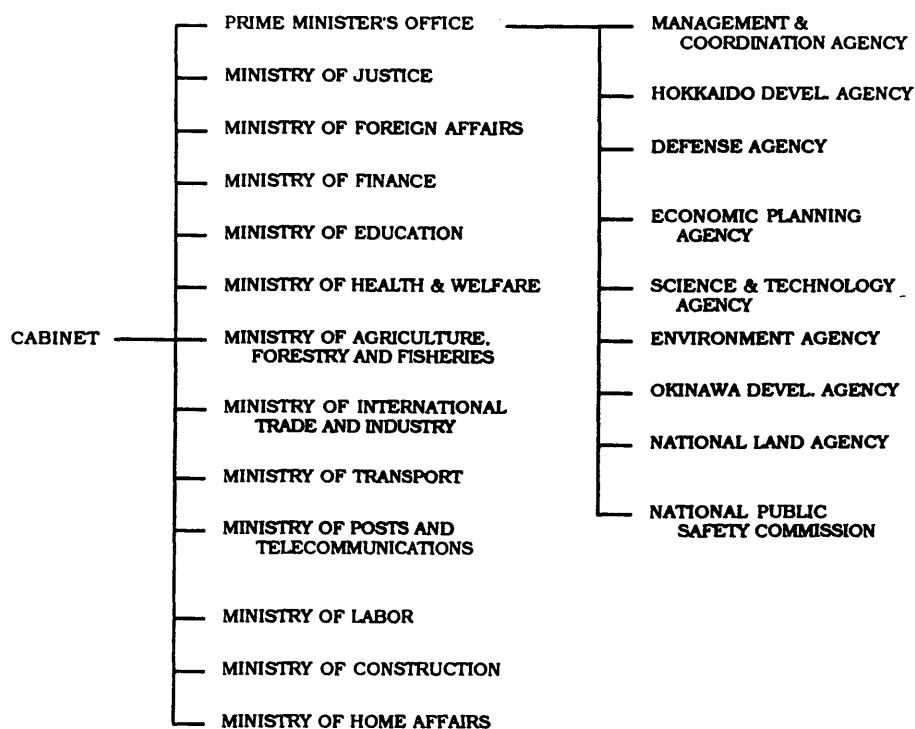
Source: Gresser, Julian, Koichiro Fujikura, and Akio Morishima.
Environment Law in Japan, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1981)

TABLE 2 ORGANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH



EXECUTIVE BRANCH

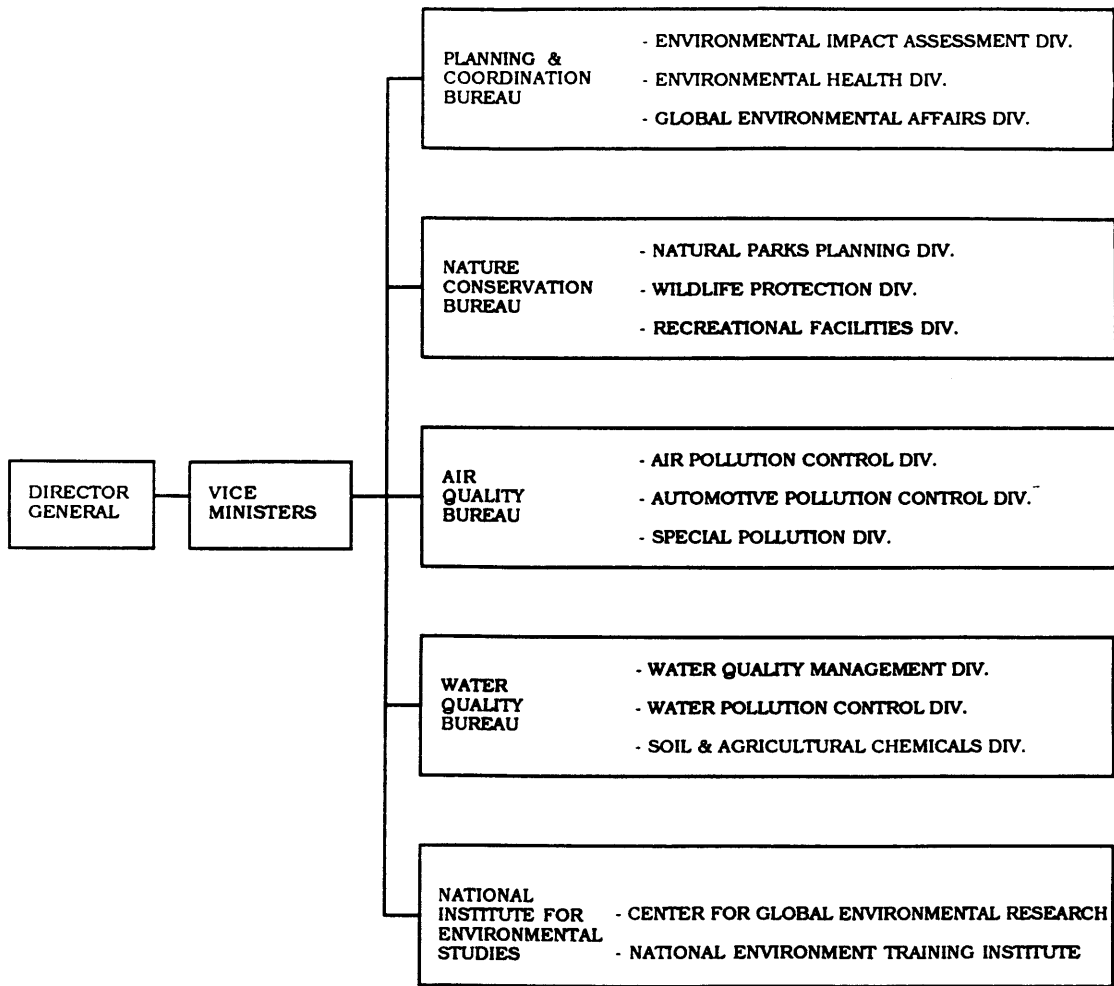


JUDICIAL BRANCH



Source: Breden Barrett and Therivel Riki.
Environmental Policy Impact Assessment in Japan
 (London and New York: Rutledge Press 1991)

TABLE 3 ORGANIZATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT AGENCY



Source: Breden Barrett and Therivel Riki.
Environmental Policy Impact Assessment in Japan
 (London and New York: Rutledge Press 1991)

**TABLE 4 NGOs THAT MONITOR GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL
ISSUES IN JAPAN**

Citizen's Alliance Saving The Atmosphere

As the name indicates, this Osaka-based group is interested in air pollution and other atmosphere-related issues. The group is also active in educational and public outreach programs. Affiliated with the Osaka branch of Shodanren, a consumer cooperative.

Consumers' Union of Japan

This Tokyo-based group is active in organizing nuclear power and golf course development demonstrations. Publishes two newsletters *Shohisha Rippo* (Japanese) and *Japan Resources* (English).

Friends of the Earth Japan

This Tokyo-based group focuses on tropical forests, World Bank reform, and climate change, and other global environmental issues.

Greenpeace Japan

This Tokyo-based group monitors such issues as ocean ecology, climate change, ozone depletion, and other global environmental issues. The group is extremely unpopular due to its radical history and anti-whaling campaign. Publishes a newsletter *Greenpeace* (Japanese).

Japan Environmental Exchange

This all-volunteer Kyoto-based group focuses on recycling issues and environmental education. Publishes a monthly newsletter *Japan Environmental Exchange Bulletin* (Japanese and English)

Japan Tropical Forest Action Network

This Tokyo-based group focuses on temperate forest issues in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia and Malaysia. Publishes a newsletter *JATAN News* (Japanese).

Nature Conservation Society of Japan

As one of the largest environmental NGOs in Japan, this Tokyo-based group focuses on many kinds of conservation issues, including coral reefs, temperate forests, and protection of animal species. Publishes a monthly magazine *Conservation of Japan* (Japanese).

Seikatsu Club

This Tokyo-based group focuses on agricultural pesticides, recycling, nuclear power issues, and promotes the use of workers cooperatives.

Worldwide Fund for Nature

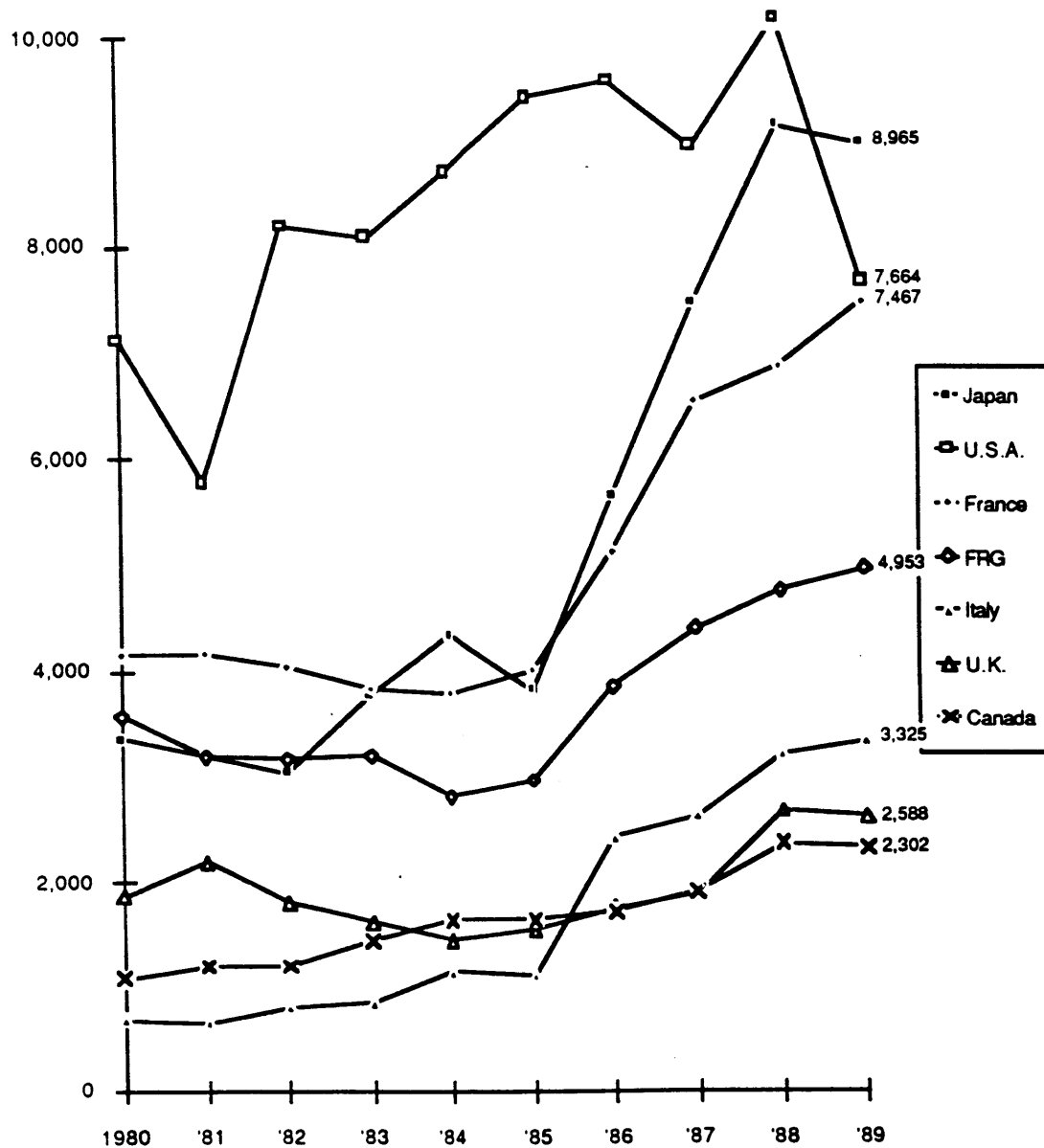
This Tokyo-based group has many connections to the Japanese business and political establishment and is widely considered to be the best-funded organization. Publishes a newsletter *Yasei Seibutsu* (Japanese).

Source: Jim Griffith. "The Environmental Movement in Japan," *Whole Earth Review*, Winter 1990, pp. 96.

TABLE 5

FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS OF JAPAN AND
OTHER OECD COUNTRIES

(In Millions of Dollars)



Source: Hiroichi Kawashima. *A Strategy for Organizational Adjustment: Japan's Official Development Assistance*, master's thesis submitted to Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Department of Urban Studies and Planning, May 10 1991.

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